

Crying in the Wilderness?

The British Anarchist Movement During the Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the British anarchist movement during the Spanish Civil War. It focuses on activists, rather than intellectual figures, and argues that the tendency to dismiss the work of the movement during the period is misplaced. British anarchists coordinated to organise solidarity for their Spanish comrades through organisations such as the CNT-FAI London Bureau, the Anarcho-Syndicalist Union and *Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista*. Others travelled to Spain to produce propaganda for the CNT-FAI Foreign Language Division or to aid persecuted revolutionaries. The British movement certainly lacked a mass following during this period, but activists maintained a commitment to their ideals and continued to agitate for the cause, carrying on the tradition of anarchism in sometimes difficult circumstances.

Keywords: *Spanish Civil War; British anarchism; international solidarity*

Accounts of British support for the Spanish Republic during the Spanish Civil War tend either to focus on volunteers fighting in the International Brigades or the efforts of (largely Communist-run) Aid Spain Committees to raise money and supplies for Spanish workers.¹ Other British political groupings, notably anarchists, have been largely ignored.² Equally, studies examining the role of anarchists during the conflict tend to concentrate almost exclusively on the Spanish anarchist organisations, the *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo* (National Confederation of Labour, CNT) and *Federación Anarquista Ibérica* (Iberian Anarchist Federation, FAI), at the expense of the (albeit significantly smaller) international (i.e. non-Spanish) movement. This frequently focuses on the wisdom of the Spanish

anarchists in joining the central Madrid and regional Catalan governments in late 1936 and their conduct during the remainder of the civil war period.³

There was, however, a consistent anarchist movement in London and elsewhere in Britain during the 1930s that bloomed with the advent of the Spanish Civil War. The neglect of these activists is partially explained by a focus on the CNT-FAI representative in Britain, the legendary Russian-American anarchist Emma Goldman, who made no secret of her antipathy to the British working class, anarchist movement, and weather.⁴ Her correspondence with the Spanish movement is sometimes taken as the definitive account of British anarchist activity during the civil war period, but although Goldman was an important figure, others were equally committed to organising aid for the CNT-FAI and to increasing exposure to anarchist ideas in Britain. Reading between the lines, a fuller account of the British movement becomes possible.

Several works exist on the contribution of British anarchists to the intellectual tradition of anarchism, including figures active in the late 1930s.⁵ This article, by contrast, concerns itself with what Benjamin Franks describes as ‘class struggle anarchism’,⁶ sharing with Franks ‘the recognition that anarchism is primarily a mode of revolutionary action rather than a set of theoretical texts’.⁷ Studies of the British anarchist movement itself tend to cover either the turn of the twentieth century until the First World War or the period following the 1960s, when disillusionment with orthodox communism increased following the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956.⁸ This leaves a significant gap covering the interwar period, the Second World War and immediate post-war period, generally because this era is usually deemed a low point in anarchist activity (ignoring the increase in action during the Spanish Civil War).⁹ John Quail’s 1978 study of the British anarchist movement, for example, ends in 1930 (the time of the movement’s ‘more or less total eclipse’); although he noted that the reason for his omission of the Spanish Civil War period was that it was ‘still a matter of living reminiscence rather than history’.¹⁰ Peter Marshall’s encyclopaedic history of anarchism includes a total of nine pages on the British movement (as opposed to thinkers), only three sentences of which discuss the movement’s response to the Spanish Civil War.¹¹ This portrayal of the mid-twentieth century as an age of anarchist wilderness, punctuated by the brief oasis of Spain, may seem persuasive, but the reality is less dramatic.¹² The movement certainly lacked a mass following during this period, but activists maintained a commitment to their ideals and continued to agitate for the cause, carrying on the tradition of anarchism in sometimes difficult circumstances.

This article examines the work of British anarchists in their quest to highlight the plight of the Spanish anarchists to the British public. Contrary to Goldman’s

reports to the CNT-FAI, which were themselves tinged with modesty about her own role, British anarchists mobilised in numerous ways to help their stricken Spanish comrades. The CNT-FAI London Bureau coordinated various speaking tours and rallies and provided anarchist representation at the May Day celebrations in Hyde Park for the first time in several years. The British section of *Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista* (International Antifascist Solidarity, SIA), the international aid organisation created by the CNT in mid-1937, also raised money to help alleviate the refugee crisis in Republican Spain caused by the steady loss of territory to Franco's Nationalists. The British-Canadian anarchist and historian George Woodcock described the British anarchist movement as a 'chorus of voices crying in the wilderness', contributing far more to 'art and intellect' than to the British labour movement.¹³ This characterisation may have some validity, but an emphasis on the contribution of British anarchists to the intellectual tradition of anarchism, or on certain 'remarkable' individual anarchists (Goldman, for example) risks ignoring the very real contribution of the movement to Spanish solidarity during this period. Although the victory of the rebels cast a shadow across the international movement for a substantial period, many of those who cut their teeth during the late 1930s in Spanish solidarity activities became stalwarts of the British movement in the years to come.

BRITISH ANARCHISM BEFORE THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

In the period before the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, British anarchism was in a poor state. Anarchists received a boost from the increased interest in syndicalist ideas before 1914, when the Welsh miner, Sam Mainwaring (whose nephew of the same name organised anarchist meetings in South Wales during the Spanish Civil War), was credited with coining the term 'anarcho-syndicalism'.¹⁴ The movement split, however, over participation in the First World War, with a minority grouped around Piotr Kropotkin supporting the Entente Powers and the majority taking up an anti-war stance.¹⁵ After the Russian Revolution of 1917, radicals in Britain became attracted to Soviet communism at the expense of anti-authoritarian alternatives to capitalism.¹⁶

The late 1920s and early 1930s also witnessed a power struggle over the editorship of *Freedom*, the longest-standing British anarchist newspaper established in 1886. Tom Keell had published the journal after the split over the First World War, but anarchists allied to Scottish trade unionist and former editor John Turner believed that they were entitled to the newspaper's publishing house and contents after Keell suspended the newspaper due to lack of financial support in 1927. Turner and his

allies decided to publish a rival periodical in May 1930, also entitled *Freedom*, which devoted itself mainly to personal attacks on Keell. The whole affair quickly became very bad-tempered and gave the British anarchist movement a shoddy reputation during the early years of the Depression.¹⁷ Vernon Richards, son of London-based Italian anarchist Emidio Recchioni, recounted that one meeting discussing the publication of the *Freedom Bulletin* was ‘nearly wrecked because one young man got up and said that *Freedom* had become a “real washer-women’s rag”, and that “the sooner the old men gave up the space in personal attacks, the better”’.¹⁸ Before 1936, then, the British movement was divided, broke, and ineffective.

Events in Spain altered this dreary picture. Following the outbreak of General Francisco Franco’s Nationalist rebellion in July 1936, the CNT and FAI – the two most powerful anarchist organisations in the world at the time – organised their own armed columns to help defeat the military conspiracy in major cities and liberate fascist-held areas. Large factory and landowners fled to avoid the expected retribution from disgruntled workers, allowing militants throughout Spanish Republican territory to embark on their own revolution based on the anarchist notion of *comunismo libertario* (libertarian communism). In areas such as Catalonia and Aragón, anarchists reorganised the economy by creating agricultural and industrial collectives, often abolishing money in the process.¹⁹

For anarchists, the Spanish Civil War was more than simply a battle against fascism; it was a full-scale social revolution. Chris Ealham describes Barcelona in the immediate aftermath of the crushing of the rebellion as the ‘greatest revolutionary festival in the history of contemporary Europe’.²⁰ British anarchists were inspired by the struggle of their Spanish comrades. The Freedom group published a one-off edition of its newspaper in August 1936 declaring that ‘The victory of the Spanish workers will be our own’.²¹ In December 1936, Vernon Richards published the first edition of *Spain and the World*, which became the leading English-language anarchist periodical on Spain, giving details on the work of the CNT and FAI and problems facing the wider antifascist movement on the peninsula. It had a readership of around 4,000 during its three-year run.²²

THE CNT-FAI LONDON BUREAU

After the immediate suppression of the rebellion in Barcelona, the CNT-FAI invited veteran Russian-American anarchist Emma Goldman to Catalonia to lend her expertise to the Spanish movement.²³ After three months working in Spain, which involved speaking on Radio CNT-FAI and helping prepare the English-language bulletin produced by the CNT-FAI Foreign Language Division, she

was instructed to travel to Britain to set up a propaganda office in London: the CNT-FAI London Bureau. With the CNT-FAI's financial backing, she formed the bureau with the help of some old comrades from the Freedom group, including Hammersmith local Ralph Barr and Sonia Clements, the daughter of the American anarchist architect John Edelmänn. The CNT gave the London Bureau 20,000 francs a month (around £50) to carry out its work. While a relatively modest sum, it was double the amount given to the Belgian office, for example.²⁴ The bureau was officially launched at a meeting in the Conway Hall on 18 January 1937. Speaking at the launch were Goldman, Fenner Brockway, secretary of the Independent Labour Party (ILP), and Captain James Robert (Jack) White, former commander of the Irish Citizen Army, whom Goldman had met in Barcelona.²⁵ The ILP worked with the British anarchist movement frequently during the civil war period. The London Bureau was initially located on Castletown Road in West Kensington but eventually moved offices to Frith Street in Soho.

Goldman was initially quite hesitant about leaving the revolutionary atmosphere of Spain for the streets of London, telling American veteran anarchist Walter Starrett that she felt 'pretty rotten to have to accept it'.²⁶ Werner Driescher was a German-born anarchist who fought with an anarchist militia in Spain alongside his British wife Greville Texidor. Upon their return to Britain, they worked with the London anarchists. Driescher remembered his time there as follows: 'We drank weak tea, ate stale buns, and smoked the cheapest cigarettes. There was an almost Dickensian atmosphere about the place, so different from the bitter reality of the Spanish Civil War'.²⁷ Goldman's correspondence often tells a similarly disheartening story. She frequently found the British public difficult to engage with, telling her friend the writer John Cowper Powys in March 1937 that she did not know how to 'penetrate their rigid reserve'.²⁸ Attempts to engage with the grassroots labour movement in general were thwarted by the Labour Party and trade union hierarchy, who – perhaps understandably – rebuffed the anarchists' attempts to propagandise within their ranks. Goldman called these officials 'reactionary to the core', and 'as bitterly hostile to us today [as] they have always been'.²⁹ The Labour Party and trade union leadership was concerned about losing ground to the communists in the late 1930s and viewed united front initiatives (even those including the anarchists) with considerable suspicion. This echoes the findings of Jim Fyfe, who notes that 'the enthusiasm of some of the leading labour figures for the cause of the Spanish Republic was far below what was required in the circumstances'.³⁰

The first major event in which Goldman was involved in Britain also proved to be a let-down. This was an art exhibition under the auspices of the Spanish Exhibition Committee, a group containing members from the CNT-FAI

London Bureau (Goldman), the ILP, the Socialist League (a left faction within the Labour Party), the Spanish Aid Society, and some Quakers.³¹ Goldman claimed that her comrades did most of the work and received little help apart from that provided by the surrealist artist Ronald Penrose. She also maintained that the CNT was effectively whitewashed from the exhibition despite the fact that it gave more money (£30) than any other organisation apart from the ILP. The exhibition itself was a shambles: it had to be moved into a basement because a delay in booking meant their preferred hall was unavailable; some photographs had no captions despite this being agreed upon by the committee; it cost almost £500 (double what it should have cost); and it failed to raise any money for Spain – indeed it made a loss of £137.³² Although Fenner Brockway assured her that a ‘sincere effort’ was made to make the exhibition a success, Goldman was scathing in her own assessment, telling him that ‘if it had not been for you I should never have joined the Committee; as it is, I have regretted it deeply’.³³ It confirmed to Goldman the futility of working with the mainstream Aid Spain movement, and encouraged her to find new ways of reaching the British public.

In her attempts to woo them, Goldman set up an anarchist ‘front’ organisation, the Committee to Aid Homeless Spanish Women and Children. This was the *nom de plume* of the CNT-FAI London Bureau when it did not want to scare off prospective middle-class patrons by using the word ‘anarchism’.³⁴ This tactic may have been more reminiscent of the Communist Party (which created several ‘fronts’ during the war), but the most important question for Goldman was to raise as much money as possible. She even referred to herself as ‘Mrs E.G. Colton’ on committee literature (she married the Welsh anarchist miner Jim Colton in 1925 to obtain British citizenship) in an attempt to downplay her own role.³⁵ Its sponsors included such eminent names as Stella Churchill (who acted as honorary treasurer), Dame Sybil Thorndike, Sir John Gielgud, Sir Barry Jackson, Rebecca West, Ethel Mannin, and Havelock Ellis.³⁶

The group’s most successful endeavour was a musical evening in April 1937 with the renowned radical singer Paul Robeson, which raised over £200 for the cause. Whilst arranging the concert, Goldman alleged that Spanish Medical Aid (a Communist Party front organisation) attempted to steal their star for their own event as soon as they found out Robeson was due to sing on behalf of the anarchists.³⁷ The communists were unsuccessful in their scheme, however, and Robeson sang a collection of African-American and Finnish folk songs at the Victoria Palace, receiving a ‘smashing ovation’ according to the American political scientist and diplomat Ralph Bunche.³⁸ The group was so successful at hiding its identity from the public that one member of the audience, Soviet Ambassador to Britain, Ivan Maisky, was oblivious about its anarchist credentials, and was suitably

horrified when Goldman was unveiled as the organiser.³⁹ In addition, the group organised public meetings, some of which attracted up to 700 people. During the winter and spring of 1937 the group raised approximately £500 to send to Spain (over £25,000 in today's money).⁴⁰ The committee gave Goldman access to the higher circles of the British cultural elite. This was useful for fundraising but did little to disseminate anarchist ideas to the wider working class. Albert Meltzer, a youth in the anarchist movement in the 1930s and an outspoken opponent of Goldman, maintained that her 'knowledge of Britain, for all her visits, was essentially that of a Brooklyn tourist' and that her 'desire to entertain the bourgeoisie heavily detracted from her propagandist credibility'.⁴¹

In order to counter this, the CNT-FAI London Bureau adopted a twin track approach. As well as fundraising, one thing British anarchists were determined to achieve was the familiarisation of the British public with its parent organisations. To this end, anarchists set up a reading room for those interested in anarchism and sent out tens of thousands of copies of CNT leaflets from Barcelona to trade unionists and other possible sympathisers.⁴² The bureau also produced a pamphlet in 1937 on the structure of the CNT. The pamphlet introduced readers to the federalist, non-executive nature of the trade union, maintaining that it was based on 'very progressive lines'.⁴³ The May Day celebrations in 1937 included an anarchist contingent for the first time in living memory. They were aided in this regard by the ILP, which, when the CNT-FAI London Bureau was denied a permit for a platform in Hyde Park, let the anarchists use theirs.⁴⁴ The London Bureau reciprocated by contributing £100 to the upkeep of the ILP children's home in Street, Somerset. The ILP cared for forty-two children, the parents of whom were CNT members, from June 1937 to June 1939.⁴⁵

On the second anniversary of the start of the Spanish Revolution in July 1938, the London Bureau organised a mass meeting at Hyde Park, with speakers including Goldman, Ralph Barr and the Irish anarchist Mat Kavanagh.⁴⁶ Kavanagh was born in Limerick but moved to England at the turn of the twentieth century. He agitated in Liverpool in the early 1900s and later organised in London, before moving to Southend. He briefly served as George Orwell's barber during the Second World War, who described him as 'an old Irish IRA (!) Anarchist hair-dresser'.⁴⁷ Goldman went on speaking tours throughout the country speaking about the CNT-FAI and the struggle in Spain. Halls in Glasgow, Liverpool, Plymouth, Neath, Bristol, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Norwich filled with expectant listeners. Goldman described one meeting in Bristol (which raised £100) as 'the first time in all the years I have come to Bristol to have met with such a response'.⁴⁸

The bureau also arranged showings of CNT-FAI films, such as *Fury Over Spain*

(1937) and *Dawn Over Spain* (1938). In Spanish these films were known as *Un pueblo en armas* and *Amenecer sobre España*. They were directed by Louis Frank, an American businessman living in Barcelona who allied himself with the CNT-FAI during the war.⁴⁹ These films represented the anarchist viewpoint of the conflict. Frank maintained that he wanted to focus on the 'very fine constructive work which is being carried on by the Spanish people', not simply the antifascist war.⁵⁰ As such they were too inflammatory for many to accept, and the anarchists were put under pressure to eliminate their revolutionary aspects. Ironically, *Fury Over Spain* was literally inflammable, which meant it was unable to be shown in certain cinemas, forcing the bureau to acquire a non-flammable copy.⁵¹ The British censor's office tried to remove the commentary of *Fury Over Spain*, which angered Ethel Mannin and others who maintained that 'Without the commentary the film could be the ordinary Government fight against Fascism ... the whole point of the film is the *revolution* in Spain'.⁵² The films were eventually shown all over the world, including New Zealand and Australia. The CNT-FAI London Bureau lent *Fury Over Spain* to the ILP to show at their summer school, where it received a favourable response. The money raised by the anarchists ultimately went to SIA.⁵³

Before the start of the civil war, the CNT was unknown to all in Britain except a curious few. By 1937, they were known, if not well understood. Clement Attlee, leader of the Labour Party, was interviewed by the Spanish anarchist newspaper *Castilla Libre* on a visit to Spain in December 1937. When asked if the work of the CNT was known in Britain, Attlee replied that: 'The CNT is known in my country. There is some confusion as to its course of action. But more and more it is being realized that the C.N.T. in Spain is a rising power, that it is fighting [on] behalf of the people, which is its mission, the C.N.T. being a proletarian force'.⁵⁴ This was something for which the CNT-FAI London Bureau could claim a modicum of credit.

SPANISH SOLIDARITY

Spain became the inspiration for another new endeavour pursued by the London anarchists, the Anarcho-Syndicalist Union (ASU), which operated out of Shepherd's Bush. This was set up on the initiative of Greville Texidor and Werner Droescher after their return from Spain.⁵⁵ The ASU set out its aims in *Spain and the World* in June 1937: firstly, to work for improved conditions for its members; and secondly, to gather 'information and facts that will be necessary for the workers to possess if the social revolution is to lead to evolution and not merely to substitution of another type of state machine for that which exists at present'.⁵⁶ The ASU was an attempt to create a British version of the CNT but was too small to be considered a trade

union, and most of its members were unemployed.⁵⁷ It had about twenty members in March 1938.⁵⁸ In reality, the ASU was an anarcho-syndicalist propaganda group.⁵⁹ It organised public meetings at which Goldman and Jack White often spoke detailing the work of the CNT-FAI.⁶⁰ The ASU, although small, attracted attention across the country. One enthusiastic student at Trinity College Oxford applied to join the ASU and set up a 'CNT-FAI Oxford Bureau', using the machinery of the local Labour Party club to distribute anarchist propaganda. Goldman sent him 100 copies of the pamphlet 'Dictatorship and an Alternative' to dispose of.⁶¹

There were also anarchist groups outside of London that organised solidarity for Spain. Mat Kavanagh addressed meetings in Southend and other areas of Essex, managing to convince groups of Freethinkers and secularists to send money for Spain to the CNT as opposed to the Communist Party.⁶² The Plymouth Libertarian Group organised meetings, and sent money to Spain via *Spain and the World* in addition to selling the newspaper.⁶³ Glasgow had two anarchist groups at the beginning of the civil war: the United Socialist Movement (USM) and the Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation (APCF). The APCF produced the *Fighting Call* jointly with the London Freedom group between 1936 and 1937. This newspaper was partially funded by the CNT in Spain.⁶⁴ The USM, led by veteran anarchist campaigner Guy Aldred, produced *Regeneracion!*, another newspaper dedicated to Spanish events.⁶⁵ The two groups cooperated little during the period, with many APCF members (and some former USM members) heavily critical of the role played by Aldred in the anarchist movement. He was regularly characterised as controlling, sectarian and nigh-impossible to work with. Frank Leech of the APCF wrote to one comrade that the USM was 'a congregation with G.A. [Aldred] as HIGH PRIEST, the members follow him like sheep, accepting his authority without question'.⁶⁶ Goldman called him a 'poisonous reptile'.⁶⁷ Aldred, for his part, viewed the role of Goldman and the CNT-FAI London Bureau with contempt. He wrote to Ralph Barr that she simply hoped to 'exploit the wrongs of Spain for the sake of her petty-bourgeois lecturing'.⁶⁸

Two Scottish anarchists, Ethel MacDonald of the USM and Jenny Patrick of the APCF, went to Spain to work for the CNT-FAI Foreign Language Division. MacDonald appeared on Radio CNT-FAI in Barcelona whilst Patrick translated articles for an English-language section in *Frente Libertario*, an anarchist newspaper printed in Madrid.⁶⁹ MacDonald also edited the *CNT-FAI Bulletin of Information* whilst in Catalonia, which had subscribers across Britain. The mailing list included individuals and groups from Bristol, Cheshire, Devon, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Edinburgh, Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire in Wales, even Gibraltar.⁷⁰ MacDonald achieved international prominence in the summer of 1937

when she was arrested after the infamous 'May Days', when anarchists and communists fought for control of the streets of Barcelona. Thousands of revolutionaries were imprisoned in the fallout, several of whom MacDonald helped to escape Spain before and after her own capture. The APCF formed an Ethel MacDonald Defence Committee (EMDC) to agitate for her release, which the USM also joined. Despite internal problems, mainly over Aldred, the EMDC helped to publicise MacDonald's predicament: letters arrived from the United States enquiring about her whereabouts, and questions were asked in the British parliament on the position of 'The Scots Scarlet Pimpernel'.⁷¹ Although Aldred wrote to the British Consul in Barcelona pleading for her release, MacDonald was quite particular about who she was willing to accept help from. The consul visited her in prison, but Ethel 'stated that she wished for no official assistance, being quite capable of looking after herself'.⁷² She was eventually released with the help of Fenner Brockway, who travelled to Spain in June 1937 in his capacity as ILP general secretary.⁷³ She escaped from Spain via a ship docked in Barcelona, after eventually accepting the support of the British Consul.⁷⁴

British anarchists also attempted to supply their Spanish comrades with weaponry to break the blockade imposed by the Non-Intervention Agreement strangling the Republic's ability to buy arms on the open market.⁷⁵ Having amassed a fund of £50 for arms purchases through the CNT-FAI London Bureau,⁷⁶ Goldman was unsure about where to send the money to avoid it falling under suspicion.⁷⁷ Some London anarchists devised an ingenious scheme to smuggle arms to the CNT. According to Albert Meltzer, a CNT delegate named Blasco Velazquez visited the Freedom group in London and attended one meeting at the home of veteran comrade Alf Rosenbaum. Rosenbaum lived in the attic of a commercial building bought out by a large company, and Velazquez suggested that it would be an impressive address from which to buy arms. Since the route taken was through Hamburg and the Nazis seized any aid for the Republic, orders were placed through an unsuspecting Czechoslovak arms dealer to deliver to Franco. From here, an Irish ship took the shipment to Bilbao, where it was 'expropriated' by the local CNT upon docking. This apparently happened three times before the supplier found out and cancelled the orders. This was a relative coup for the British anarchist movement, and embarrassed both the British and German governments.⁷⁸

SOLIDARIDAD INTERNACIONAL ANTIFASCISTA

International solidarity in their antifascist struggle was an important element of CNT-FAI strategy during the civil war. In June 1937, the CNT-FAI set up an inter-

national aid organisation – SIA – to raise money for those in Spain. The Spanish anarchists accused other aid organisations, such as the Spanish Medical Aid Committee and International Red Aid, of withholding funds from anarchists, and of channelling funds away from Barcelona, an anarchist stronghold. They hoped to outflank the communists by emphasising SIA's 'non-political' nature.⁷⁹ SIA was remarkably popular, with 300,000 members (comprising 200,000 dues-paying members and 300 collectives) within Spain by September 1938 and international branches throughout the world, including Argentina, Brazil, the Netherlands, Mexico, the United States and Palestine. The work of the organisation was wide-ranging. It established a plethora of centres in Spain, including shelters, shops, farms, popular restaurants/canteens and transient hotels; set up 'Salvage Brigades' to help rescue and re-house people who were affected by the Nationalist bombardment of towns and cities; provided help for refugees fleeing hostile territory; and organised food drives to help feed besieged cities like Madrid and Barcelona. It also created a number of children's colonies, which by December 1938 provided food and shelter for 2,000 children, as well as schools.⁸⁰

The British SIA section was launched at a meeting in London in January 1938. The CNT had initially planned to entrust the running of the section to Fidel Martin, a Spaniard who had been living in London for several years. However, due to his poor English, Goldman once again took over duties.⁸¹ Additional sponsors to the Committee to Aid Homeless Spanish Women and Children included Sidonie Goossens, C.E.M. Joad, Miles Malleson, George Orwell and the art historian and anarchist Herbert Read.⁸² Writing to her friend Martha Gordon Crotch, Goldman exclaimed that:

Our meeting [on] the 14th was a great success. The Communists helped to make it so. Non[e] of our former meetings were so exciting because the Communists tried their damndest [sic] to break up the meeting. They only succeeded in turning the whole audience towards us. Ethel spoke about the SIA and made an appeal, the response was £75.⁸³

'Ethel' was the author and ILP activist Ethel Mannin. She was the honorary treasurer of the British section of SIA and became the figurehead for the organisation throughout the country. Mannin was viewed as a safe pair of hands to raise publicity for SIA, unlike Goldman, who maintained that her activist past encouraged a 'conspiracy of silence' amongst the British press.⁸⁴ Mannin launched an appeal in a variety of 'bourgeois' (although still relatively left-wing) newspapers that garnered £130 for SIA in the winter of 1938, which was used

to buy condensed milk for children.⁸⁵ SIA maintained two colonies funded directly by *Spain and the World*: the Ascaso-Durruti Colony in Gerona and the Spain and the World Colony at El Masnou northeast of Barcelona. The Ascaso-Durruti Colony housed 300 children at the end of 1938, whilst the smaller one at Masnou cared for sixty-six children between the ages of four and fifteen. Most were from Barcelona and the surrounding area, although a number had been evacuated from Madrid.⁸⁶

The colonies were maintained until the fall of Barcelona in January 1939, when the children and their carers, along with thousands of others, were forced to flee to France.⁸⁷ Often these refugees were placed in concentration camps in southern France or North Africa.⁸⁸ This issue became the focal point for SIA in the latter period of the war. The ILP's John McNair and Herbert Read spoke at one SIA meeting highlighting their plight in March 1939. Supplies of warm clothing were sent via Perpignan in southern France in addition to general funds. *Spain and the World* managed to raise almost £300 between April and December 1939 to provide board and lodgings for Spanish refugees in London, fifty of whom had managed to flee from Madrid. Some refugees were taken under the care of the Anarchist Communist Federation (ACF), a split from the APCF in Glasgow, which worked with the Spain and the World Refugee Fund run by Vernon Richards.⁸⁹

CONCLUSION

In December 1938, with Franco on the verge of launching his Catalonia Offensive, the CNT-FAI made the decision to liquidate the London Bureau, which it could no longer afford to keep.⁹⁰ After the collapse of the bureau, Goldman left London for Canada. She toured the country raising money for Spanish refugees and died there in May 1940. Robert W. Kern maintains that Goldman in her final years was 'isolated and alone, the last survivor of a more individualistic movement now distant from the reality of the time and rapidly fading out of memory'.⁹¹ This characterisation glosses over the work achieved by the anarchist movement in London and elsewhere in Britain in the late 1930s. The events of the Spanish Civil War turned many places into hives of anarchist activity. The CNT-FAI London Bureau and SIA sent vital solidarity to their Spanish comrades in their fight against fascism, as did other groups throughout the country.

Studies of anarchism often characterise the movement as rising and falling in spectacular waves of militancy that apparently sink without trace once the period of revolutionary fervour subsides.⁹² The Spanish Civil War is often considered the 'last heroic and tragic stand' of the 'first wave' of classical anarchism

of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, before achieving renewed prominence following the rise of the countercultural 'New Left' in the 1960s.⁹³ These narratives ignore the continuity of the movement between the 1930s and the 1950s. Activists in the 1930s were a connecting point between the work-erist, labour-focused anarchism of the early twentieth century and the 'anarchic youth culture' of the 'transitional and lumpenized classes' at the end of it.⁹⁴ The British movement survived the disappointment of Spanish defeat, and youngsters like Albert Meltzer who had grown up in the galvanising atmosphere of the Spanish Civil War became stalwarts of British anarchism for decades after the war's end. Vernon Richards and his companion Marie-Louise Berneri continued to publish anarchist newspapers during the Second World War in the form of *War Commentary* and *Revolt!* Many anarchists opposed this new 'antifascist' war, and several went to prison for their anti-conscription activities, just as their predecessors had done during the First World War.⁹⁵ The reading room set up by the London Bureau during the Spanish Civil War horrified a *Daily Express* correspondent in 1944. Aware of the group's anti-war stance, the journalist visited the library where 'an elderly woman answered the door and showed me up to a reading-room on the first floor where a number of extremist publications in English, Italian and Spanish lay spread out on a couple of tables, and books were on wall shelves'. To the correspondent's dismay, the 'woman invited me to buy whatever I chose'.⁹⁶ Spanish refugees continued to arrive in London where they produced an exile newspaper, *Cronica Obrera*. They were helped with funds provided by the domestic anarchist movement.⁹⁷

The Spanish Civil War marked a changing of the guard for the British anarchist movement, rather than a wholesale rupture between first and second 'waves'. As Chris Dolan, biographer of Ethel MacDonald, notes, 'Barcelona [and the wider Spanish experience] was simply one element in a lifelong mission, no more important than standing for hours on street corners distributing leaflets, or keeping a printing press running for longer than it was designed to do'.⁹⁸ One element it may have been, but the British anarchist movement could still be proud of the work it did to organise solidarity for their Spanish comrades from 1936 to 1939.

Morris Brodie was awarded his PhD in history from Queen's University Belfast in March 2018. His research looks at international anarchism during the 1930s, focusing on the response of the British, Irish and American movements to the Spanish Civil War. His wider interests include twentieth century labour history, particularly during revolutionary periods.

NOTES

1. See, for example, R. Baxell, *British Volunteers in the Spanish Civil War: The British Battalion in the International Brigades, 1936–1939* (London, 2004); T. Buchanan, *The Spanish Civil War and the British Labour Movement* (Cambridge, 1991); J. Fyrth, *The Signal Was Spain: The Spanish Aid Movement in Britain, 1936–39* (Basingstoke, 1986); H. García, *The Truth about Spain! Mobilizing British Public Opinion, 1936–1939* (Eastbourne, 2010); J. K. Hopkins, *Into the Heart of the Fire: The British in the Spanish Civil War* (Stanford, CA, 1998).
2. Exceptions include R.W. Kern, 'Anarchist Principles and Spanish Reality: Emma Goldman as a Participant in the Civil War 1936–39', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 11 (July 1976): 237–59; G. Ioannou, 'British anarchism and the Spanish civil war' available at νεκατώματα (<http://nekatomata.blogspot.co.uk/2006/11/british-anarchism-and-spanish-civil-war.html>) (18 November 2014); D. Porter (ed.), *Vision on Fire: Emma Goldman on the Spanish Revolution* (Edinburgh, 2006); M. Shipway, *Anti-Parliamentary Communism: The Movement for Workers' Councils in Britain, 1917–45* (Basingstoke, 1988).
3. See R. Alexander, *The Anarchists in the Spanish Civil War* (2 vols, London, 1999); B. Bolloten, *The Spanish Revolution: The Left and the Struggle for Power during the Civil War* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1979); P. Broué and E. Témime, *The Revolution and the Civil War in Spain* (London, 1970); A. Paz, *Durruti in the Spanish Revolution* (Oakland, CA, 2006); J. Peirats, *The CNT in the Spanish Revolution* (3 vols, Hastings, 2001).
4. In her memoirs, Goldman wrote that she 'used to think that people exaggerated when they spoke of the horrors of the London fogs, the dampness and greyness of its winter. But I realized this time that they had hardly done justice to the reality': E. Goldman, *Living My Life* (New York, 2009), p162.
5. M. Adams, *Kropotkin, Read, and the Intellectual History of British Anarchism: Between Reason and Romanticism* (Basingstoke/New York, 2015); C. Honeywell, *A British Anarchist Tradition: Herbert Read, Alex Comfort and Colin Ward* (New York, 2011); D. Goodway, *Anarchist Seeds Beneath the Snow: Left-Libertarian Thought and British Writers from William Morris to Colin Ward* (Oakland, CA, 2012).
6. Franks defines this as: a complete rejection of capitalism and the market; a high concern for egalitarianism and freedom; a complete rejection of the state and parties; and 'a recognition that means have to prefigure ends': B. Franks, *Rebel Alliances: The means and ends of contemporary British anarchisms* (Edinburgh, 2006), pp12–13.
7. *Ibid.*, p23.
8. Franks, for instance, is concerned primarily with the period between 1984 and 2002.
9. One notable exception is C. Honeywell, 'Anarchism and the British Warfare State:

- the Prosecution of the War Commentary Anarchists, 1945', *International Review of Social History*, 60 (August 2015): 257-84.
10. J. Quail, *The Slow Burning Fuse: The Lost History of the British Anarchists* (London, 1978), pxii.
 11. P. Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism* (London, 1993), pp487-95.
 12. Andrew Cornell notes that a similar cliché exists in depictions of the American anarchist movement during the same period: A. Cornell, 'A New Anarchism Emerges, 1940-1954', *Journal for the Study of Radicalism*, 5 (2011): 105-6.
 13. G. Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements* (Cleveland, OH, 1962), p439.
 14. See B. Holton, *British Syndicalism, 1900-1914: Myths and Realities* (London, 1976); Quail, *The Slow Burning Fuse*, pp232-84; K. John, 'Sam Mainwaring and the Autonomist Tradition', *Llafur*, 4 (1986): 55-66.
 15. M.S. Adams and R. Kinna (eds), *Anarchism, 1914-18: Internationalism, anti-militarism and war* (Manchester, 2017).
 16. Franks, *Rebel Alliances*, pp46-9.
 17. See *Freedom: A Journal of Libertarian Thought, Work and Literature*, May 1930; B. Ward, 'Work for Freedom', April 1928 (International Institute of Social History (IISH), Freedom Archive (FA), 342); G. Cores, *Personal Recollections of the Anarchist Past* (London, 1992), pp11-13; A. Meltzer, *The Anarchists in London, 1935-1955* (Sanday, 1976), pp9-11; L. Fagin (Cleveland) to T. Keell, 31 January 1931 (IISH, FA, 384).
 18. V. Richards (London) to M. Nettelau (Barcelona), 10 September 1936 (IISH, Max Nettelau Papers, 1001).
 19. For the anarchist collectives, see W.L. Bernecker, *Colectividades y Revolución Social: El anarquismo en la guerra civil española, 1936-1939* (Barcelona, 1982); A. Bosch Sánchez, *Ugetistas y libertarios: Guerra civil y Revolución en el País Valenciano, 1936-1939* (Valencia, 1983); S. Dolgoff (ed.), *The Anarchist Collectives: Workers' Self-Management in the Spanish Revolution, 1936-1939* (Montréal, 1974); G. Kelsey, *Anarchosyndicalism, Libertarian Communism and the State: The CNT in Zaragoza and Aragón, 1930-1937* (Dordrecht, 1991); G. Leval, *Social Reconstruction in Spain* (London, 1938); Peirats, *The CNT in the Spanish Revolution*; M. Seidman, 'Agrarian Collectives during the Spanish Revolution and Civil War', *European History Quarterly*, 30 (2000): 209-35.
 20. C. Ealham, *Class, Culture and Conflict in Barcelona, 1898-1937* (London, 2005), p154.
 21. *Freedom*, August 1936.

22. ASU, *Spain: Anarchism* (London, 1937), p11
23. Born in 1869 in the Russian Empire, Goldman moved to the United States in 1885 and joined the anarchist movement. When the US entered the war in April 1917, Goldman led anti-conscription activity, prompting the authorities to shut down her journal *Mother Earth* in August 1917 and eventually deport her to Russia in 1919. Despite initial support for the revolution, Goldman became disillusioned with the Bolsheviks after their consolidation of power, particularly following the Kronstadt Rebellion in 1921. After escaping Russia in December of the same year she moved west, and made various speaking tours of Britain during her time there, but her anti-Soviet lectures rarely received much of a hearing. See E. Goldman, *My Disillusionment in Russia* (New York, 1923); Goldman, *Living My Life*, ch. 55; K. Morgan, 'A "splendid field"? Emma Goldman in South Wales', *Llafur*, 10 (2009): 47-61.
24. F. Roca (Paris) to E. Goldman (London), 6 January 1937 (IISH, Emma Goldman Papers (EGP), 82).
25. *Spain and the World*, 22 January 1937. For White in Spain, see D. Convery, 'From Misfit to Anarchist: The impact of the Spanish Civil War on Captain J.R. White', *Saothar*, 60 (2015): 45-56.
26. E. Goldman (Barcelona) to W. Starrett, 4 December 1936 (IISH, EGP, 36).
27. W. Driescher, *Free Society: A German exile in revolutionary Spain* (London, 2012), p15.
28. E. Goldman (London) to J. Cowper Powys, 28 March 1937 (University of Michigan, Labadie Collection (UML), Mark Mrachnyi Papers (MM), Goldman, Emma, 1869-1940. 1931-1940).
29. E. Goldman (London) to R. Pesotta (New York), 2 April 1937 (UML, MM, Goldman, Emma, 1869-1940. 1931-1940); E. Goldman (London) to CNT National Committee Secretariat (Valencia), 1 April 1937 (IISH, EGP, 49).
30. J. Fyrrh, 'The Aid Spain Movement in Britain, 1936-39', *History Workshop Journal*, 35 (Spring 1993): 155. See also R. Hayburn, 'The National Unemployed Workers' Movement, 1921-36: A Reappraisal', *International Review of Social History*, 28 (December 1983): 283-4.
31. E. Goldman (London) to S. Ballantine, 5 January 1937 (IISH, EGP, 12); E. Goldman (London) to F. Roca (Paris), 7 January 1937 (IISH, EGP, 82).
32. Spanish Exhibition Committee, 'Report of Activities of Sub-Committee since the Last Meeting of the Full Committee', June 1937 (IISH, EGP, 297); E. Goldman (London) to S. Ballantine, 2 March 1937 (IISH, EGP, 12).
33. F. Brockway (London) to E. Goldman (London), 2 April 1937 (IISH, EGP, 60); E. Goldman (London) to F. Brockway (London), 31 March 1937 (IISH, EGP, 60).
34. Goodway, *Anarchist Seeds Beneath the Snow*, p128.
35. Morgan, 'A "splendid field"?', p47.

36. E. Goldman (London) to M. Stein (New York), 31 May 1937 (IISH, EGP, 156).
37. E. Goldman (London) to CNT National Committee (Valencia), 12 April 1937 (IISH, EGP, 49).
38. R. Bunche in S.D. Pennybacker, *From Scottsboro to Munich: Race and Political Culture in 1930s Britain* (Princeton, NJ, 2009), p92.
39. E. Goldman (London) to CNT National Committee (Valencia), 10 June 1937 (IISH, EGP, 49); E. Goldman (London) to M. Gordon Crotch, 28 April 1937 (IISH, EGP, 71).
40. C. Falk, S. Charles Cole and S. Thomas, *Emma Goldman: A Guide to Her Life and Documentary Sources* (Alexandria, VA, 1995), p234.
41. A. Meltzer, *I Couldn't Paint Golden Angels: Sixty Years of Commonplace Life and Anarchist Agitation* (Edinburgh, 1996), available at Spunk Library (www.spunk.org/texts/writers/meltzer/sp001591/angeltoc.html) (24 November 2014).
42. E. Goldman (London) to M. Nettelau (Amsterdam), 19 May 1938 (IISH, EGP, 46).
43. CNT-FAI London Bureau, *Structure of the National Confederation of Labour (The C.N.T.)* (London, 1937), p2.
44. W.A. Procter (Westminster) to Secretary of Freedom group (London), 27 April 1937 (IISH, EGP, 60); F. Brockway (London) to E. Goldman (London), 22 May 1937 (IISH, EGP, 60).
45. J. McNair (London) to E. Goldman (London), 27 April 1938 (IISH, EGP, 60); J. McNair (London) to M. Rodríguez Vázquez (Barcelona), 25 April 1938 (IISH, EGP, 91); F. Brockway (London) to E. Goldman (Paris), 7 August 1937 (IISH, EGP, 60); E. Goldman (London) to S. Churchill, 4 April 1938 (IISH, EGP, 63); E. Goldman (London) to L. Sánchez Saornil (Barcelona), 11 July 1938 (IISH, EGP, 92); G. Cohen, *The Failure of a Dream: The Independent Labour Party from Disaffiliation to World War II* (London, 2007), p190; C. Hall, 'The ILP and the Spanish Civil War' available at Independent Labour Publications (<http://www.independentlabour.org.uk/main/2016/05/13/the-ilp-and-the-spanish-civil-war/>) (29 July 2016).
46. *Spain and the World*, 15 July 1938.
47. N. Heath, 'Kavanagh, Mat, 1876-1954' available at Libcom.org (<https://libcom.org/history/kavanagh-mat-1876-1954>) (15 August 2017).
48. E. Goldman (London) to A. Bird (Norwich), 28 March 1937 (IISH, EGP, 57); E. Goldman (London) to S. Ballantine, 1 February 1938 (IISH, EGP, 12); E. Goldman (London) to S. Ballantine, 2 March 1937 (IISH, EGP, 12).
49. A. Bluestein, 'Side A: Spain #3' (UML, Abe and Selma Bluestein Papers (ASBP); Box 2, Biographies – Oral transcriptions – Bluestein, Abe (2 of 2)).
50. L. Frank to J.V.C. Wray, 24 June 1938 (University of Warwick, Archives of the TUC, 292/946/12a/80).
51. E. Goldman (London) to J. Andersson (Stockholm), 21 July 1937 (IISH, EGP, 48).

52. E. Mannin (London) to E. Goldman, 1 September 1937 (IISH, EGP, 117).
53. *Evening Post* [NZ], 7 December 1938; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 February 1938; F. Brockway (London) to E. Goldman (St Tropez), 30 August 1937 (IISH, EGP, 60); E. Goldman to L. Sánchez Saornil (Barcelona), 12 August 1938 (IISH, EGP, 92).
54. *Spanish Revolution*, 10 January 1938.
55. E. Goldman (London) to M. Steimer (Paris), 19 January 1937 (IISH, EGP, 155).
56. *Spain and the World*, 11 June 1937.
57. E. Goldman (London) to M. Gudell (Barcelona), 29 March 1938 (IISH, EGP, 90).
58. Ibid.
59. ASU, *Spain*, pp7-10.
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61. B.K. Soper (Oxford) to R. Barr (London), c. May, 3 June 1938 (IISH, EGP, 152); E. Goldman (London) to B. K. Soper (Oxford), 7 June 1938 (IISH, EGP, 152).
62. M. Kavanagh (Southend) to T. Keell, 26 July 1937, 3 August 1937 (IISH, FA, 515).
63. L. Avery (Plymouth) to T. Keell, 12 March 1937 (IISH, FA, 435); *Spain and the World*, 13 October 1937.
64. M. Rodríguez Vázquez (Valencia) to E. Goldman (London), 14 February 1937 (IISH, EGP, 49).
65. For more on Aldred, see R. Kinna, 'Guy Aldred: bridging the gap between Marxism and Anarchism', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 16 (2011): 97-114.
66. F. Leech (Glasgow) to G. Russell (Burnbank), 20 February 1937 (Mitchell Library, Glasgow (ML), Guy Aldred Collection (GAC), 103).
67. E. Goldman (London) to F. Leech (Glasgow), 26 February 1937 (IISH, EGP, 112).
68. G. Aldred (Glasgow) to R. Barr (London), 14 October 1936 (ML, GAC, 106).
69. J. Patrick (Madrid) to G. Aldred (Glasgow), 21 January 1937 (ML, GAC, 133).
70. List of subscribers to English CNT-FAI bulletin, n.d. (IISH, CNT (*España*) Archives (CNT), C71).
71. C. Dolan, *An Anarchist's Story: The Life of Ethel MacDonald* (Edinburgh, 2009), p168. For the May Days, see G. Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia* (London, 2000), pp155-96; V. Richards, *The May Days: Barcelona 1937* (London, 1987).
72. Minute book of the USM, 29 June, 20 July 1937 (ML, GAC, 129); HM Consul General of Barcelona to G. Aldred (Glasgow), 14 July 1937 (ML, Ethel MacDonald Collection, File 2).
73. F. Brockway, *Spanish Diary, 23rd June to 12th July 1937: Personal Report of a Visit to Spain* (London, 1937), pp8-10.
74. *Sunday Mail*, 26 December 1937.
75. For non-intervention, see D. Little, *Malevolent Neutrality: The United States, Great Britain, and the Origins of the Spanish Civil War* (Ithaca, NY, 1985).

76. E. Goldman (London) to M. Mascarell (Paris), 3 June 1938 (IISH, EGP, 82).
77. E. Goldman (London) to R. Rocker (Crompond, NY), 10 February 1939 (IISH, EGP, 136).
78. A. Meltzer, *The Anarchists in London, 1935-1955* (Sanday, 1976), pp13-14. Gerald Howson, in his excellent book on the arms trade during the Spanish Civil War, supports the basic principle of Meltzer's story, but disagrees on several of the details. Howson believes Meltzer may be thinking of a Welsh ship in his account: the *Bramhill*, which set off to Alicante from Hamburg. On 22 September 1936, the *Bramhill* left carrying 19,000 rifles, 101 machine guns, 28,650,000 cartridges, 4,000 pistols and 500,000 pistol cartridges (a total weight of around 840 tons) for the CNT. The British destroyer *HMS Woolwich* spotted it upon arrival in Alicante on 1 October. When the captain relayed the news to London it 'caused astonishment at the Foreign Office', since they were under the impression that the ship was supplying arms not to Spain, but to Saudi Arabia and the Yemen. According to Howson, this was the only shipment of arms to the CNT throughout the course of the entire war: G. Howson, *Arms for Spain: The untold story of the Spanish Civil War* (New York, 1999), pp192-3.
79. *IWMA Bulletin of Information*, 15 October 1937; V. Cionini, 'Solidarité Internationale Antifasciste, ou l'humanitaire au service des idées anarchistes', *Diacronie: Studi di Storia Contemporanea*, 7 (2011): 2.
80. *Challenge*, 3 September 1938; *IWMA Bulletin of Information*, 29 January 1937 (This is most likely a misprint, since SIA did not exist until later in 1937. The correct date is probably 29 January 1938); *S.I.A.*, December 1938.
81. P. Herrera (Barcelona) to E. Goldman (London), 23 December 1937 (IISH, EGP, 89); E. Goldman (London) to P. Herrera (Barcelona), 3 January 1938 (IISH, EGP, 90).
82. S.I.A., Receipt of Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista, 16 August 1938 (IISH, FA, 528).
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85. The newspapers were the *Daily Chronicle*, *Reynold's News*, *The Tribune* and the *Daily Herald*: S.I.A., December 1938; E. Goldman (London) to P. Herrera (Paris), 28 November 1938 (IISH, EGP, 92).
86. 'Relacion de Colonias de S.I.A.', c. 1938 (IISH, CNT, 100B); 'Relacion de niños. Colonia Spain and the World', 4 October 1938 (IISH, CNT, 100B).
87. E. Roca to E. Goldman, 11 February 1939 (IISH, EGP, 134).
88. See F. Cate-Arries, *Spanish Culture behind Barbed Wire: Memory and Representation of the French Concentration Camps, 1939-1945* (Cranbury, NJ, 2010); S. Soo, *The routes to exile: France and the Spanish Civil War refugees, 1939-2009* (Manchester, 2013).

89. E. Goldman to S. Churchill, 17 March 1939 (IISH, EGP, 63); E. Goldman (London) to L. Sánchez Saornil (Barcelona), 6 December 1938 (IISH, EGP, 93); Statement of Accounts of Spain and the World Orphans and Refugees Fund, January 1939-June 1940 (IISH, Vernon Richards Papers (VR), 136); M. Steimer (Paris) to A. Bluestein and S. Cohen, 17 April 1939 (UML, ASBP, Box 1; Steimer, Mollie); F. Leech (Glasgow) to V. Richards, 10 August 1939 (IISH, CNT (*España*) London Bureau Archive, Financial documents, 1936-38); J. Couzin, *Radical Glasgow* (Glasgow, 2014), pp140-1.
90. P. Herrera and M. Rodríguez Vázquez (Barcelona) to E. Goldman (London), 13 December 1938 (IISH, EGP, 93).
91. Kern, 'Anarchist Principles and Spanish Reality', p251.
92. See N. Pernicone, *Carlo Tresca: Portrait of a Rebel* (New York, 2005); E. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels* (Manchester, 1971); pp74-92.
93. B. Anderson, 'Preface', S.J. Hirsch and L. van der Walt (eds), *Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial and Postcolonial World, 1870-1940: The Praxis of National Liberation, Internationalism, and Social Revolution* (Leiden, 2010), pxiv.
94. M. Bookchin, *Post-Scarcity Anarchism* (Berkeley, CA, 1971), pp190, 227.
95. See Honeywell, 'Anarchism and the British Warfare State', pp257-84.
96. *Daily Express*, 22 April 1944.
97. *Cronica Obrera*, October 1941; Statement of Accounts of Spain and the World Orphans and Refugees Fund, January 1939-June 1940 (IISH, VR, 136); M. Steimer (Paris) to A. Bluestein and S. Cohen, 17 April 1939 (UML, ASBP, Box 1; Steimer, Mollie).
98. Dolan, *An Anarchist's Story*, p225.